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(FOUO 30/81)



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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

- Li Discusses Political Superstructure of Socialist-Oriented
Countries
(V. F. Li; VOPROSY FILOSOFII, Sep 81) 1

REGIONAL

- Study of National Relations at 26th CPSU Congress
(A. Deshdamirov; AZARBAYJAN KOMMUNISTI, Jul 81) 17
- Ethnic Status of 'Mountain Jews' Reviewed
(M. Ye. Matatov; SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, Sep-Oct 81) 31

- a -

[III - USSR - 35 FOUO]

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INTERNATIONAL

LI DISCUSSES POLITICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SOCIALIST-ORIENTED COUNTRIES

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 9, Sep 81 pp 3-16

[Article by V.F. Li, doctor of historical sciences, professor, sector chief at the Institute of Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Political Superstructure in Societies with a Socialist Orientation"]

[Text] The emergence and intensive development of a socialist orientation as a unique form of non-capitalist development for previously oppressed countries and peoples is one of the outstanding phenomena of the present day which requires the most serious theoretical and methodological interpretation. The national democratic revolutions which evolved in these countries destroyed the foundations of imperialist and feudal domination, cut short the establishment of capitalism at its formative stage, and took a non-capitalist path of social progress. During the course of the radical reorganization of pre-capitalist or early capitalist structures a gradual process began of the drawing together of a socialist orientation and popular democratic social development.

As the practice of these countries shows, the revolutionary power which comprises the leading element in the structure of the new political superstructure of the transitional society is the basic instrument of radical social transformations. Some of the elements of the new superstructure have their genesis at the stage of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. Nevertheless, the real formation of the new superstructure begins only after the victory of the revolutionary forces.

Destroying the old superstructure, as it becomes established the new revolutionary power increasingly performs constructive functions which are aimed, as is emphasized in the Summary Report of the CC CPSU to the 26th Party Congress, at "providing the people's state with the command heights in the economy and shifting to the planned development of the productive forces, encouraging the cooperative movement in the village,"¹ and creating solid foundations for the socio-economic bases of a non-capitalist path of development. The key positions in the new socio-political structure of the state with a socialist orientation are occupied by the vanguard revolutionary parties which proclaim their program goal to be the construction in the future of a socialist society free of all forms of oppression and exploitation.

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The Contradictions of Political Institutionalization

Objective conditions and subjective factors, the international climate and domestic political conditions, the character of the political culture of society and the level of the political consciousness of the masses, and the inability of the "elite" to rule in the old way and the open unwillingness of the "lower classes" to accept an outmoded social order manifest themselves in a specific way in the post-colonial structures and give rise to an extraordinary typological diversity. As is noted in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, the liberated countries which have taken the path of sovereign development and modernization differ fundamentally from one another, and this applies in full measure to the political system of the states with a socialist orientation.

It is quite obvious that the differentiation of post-colonial societies by no means signifies the disappearance of the general laws of their development which are determined by the complex interaction of objective conditions and of the subjective factors of the national-democratic revolution. Laws of this kind can be traced in almost all of these spheres of the transitional society, including the party-political structure in whose evolution at least the following basic features can be singled out.

In the vast majority of developing countries there are, as a rule, socially multi-strata political parties--conglomerates which bring together in their ranks the most diverse representatives of the middle strata, the non-proletarian strata of the workers, the local bourgeoisie, and the traditional aristocracy and products of the lower strata. This conglomerate nature reflects, in its turn, the incompleteness of the processes of class differentiation in the transitional society and the profound antagonism between the extreme poles of social stratification--the proletarian-peasant pole, on the one hand, and, on the other, the elite-bureaucratic pole. The incomplete internal differentiation of the social structure of the post-colonial society does not weaken, but, on the contrary, in its own way concentrates and strengthens social antagonisms which become organically interwoven with the contradictions between modernism and traditionalism, between democracy and authoritarianism, and between genuinely revolutionary and reformist methods of resolving urgent social problems. The socially conglomerate nature of the different non-proletarian parties and the outer similarity of their political and ideological declarations makes it very difficult to discover their class orientation which, as a rule, is of an extremely veiled character. For this reason, the social essence of these parties is revealed only on the basis of the kind of methodology which requires not only an analysis of their social base and of the essence of their political leadership, but also a consideration of the objective consequences of the state policies of one or another group which has come to power independently or in a block with other socio-political forces.

The socially multi-strata character of the non-proletarian political party-conglomerates is to a large extent combined with their internal organizational and political friability, although this quality is also to a considerable extent the result of the relative "youth" of many (both ruling and opposition) of the political associations and groups which arose during the period immediately preceding the proclamation of the national independence, or during the first years of independence. The deformed socio-class base of the political parties, the lack of clarity

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in their ideological and political orientation, the strong influence of various traditionalist factors (including conservative ones), and an acute inter-group struggle give rise to the extreme instability of the positions of even those mass party-fronts which at one time successfully led a broad anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement of peoples. As a rule, the grass roots network of local organizations of the party-fronts are extremely weak and ineffective: they operate rather as grass roots groups in the parliamentary struggle, and not as united associations of like-minded people who are conducting a systematic struggle for the education of the masses and for their involvement in the channel of independent national development.

The acute fractional inter-party struggle and the low effectiveness of the traditional multi-party bourgeois parliamentary structure (which as a superstructural institution has the task of ensuring an optimal reproduction of bourgeois social relations) has impelled the ruling circles of a number of countries of bourgeois-land owner development (Indonesia, the Philippines, Turkey, and others) to change over to a "non-party" or one-party structure of authoritarian rule, which, undoubtedly, is one of the important manifestations of the profound crisis of the bourgeois-bureaucratic political system which is incapable of solving the urgent problems of social progress.

And, finally, one other important characteristic of the formation of the new party-political structure in the liberated countries is connected with a special type of charismatic leadership (Mahatma Gandhi, Sukarno, Mudzhibur Rakhman, and others) which is the product above all of the enormous influence of traditional paternalism on the political culture of the lower strata of society. In practice, this type of leadership in a political organization which lays claims to the realization of a national modernization engenders very contradictory phenomena. On the one hand, a charismatic appeal to the masses rapidly inflames their spontaneous "revolutionary" enthusiasm and greatly strengthens the destructive potentials of a social protest movement. However, charisma which is based primarily on a social utopia and on certain conservative religious ethical ideas is not capable of realizing a constructive program of the fundamental revolutionary reorganization of society. Of course, social utopias in the present-day national liberation movement are by no means abstract and senseless fantasizing; they may include not only reactionary but also certain progressive tendencies.² However, the practical bankruptcy of the social utopia leads to a profound disillusionment and to political passivity, and frequently also to the embitterment of the numerically huge agitated masses. The consequences of such a crisis are of a many-sided character: the collapse of the old and the emergence of new political party-conglomerates, the replacement of the charismatic leaders with a new and very frequently military-petit bourgeois generation of leaders, and a review of political-ideological orientations in the direction of strengthening the nationalist-traditionalist (including religious) orientation.

To what extent do the above-considered general laws of the formation and evolution of non-proletarian political systems exercise an influence on the political superstructure in states with a socialist orientation? It is obvious that the latter cannot be free of the influence of political environment, level of political culture, extremely powerful manifestations of national-ethnic disunity, and so forth.

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The social, political, ideological, and cultural influence of the most diverse nationalistic, reformist, traditionalist, and other non-proletarian forces on the formation of new leadership groups in the ruling parties of socialist orientated countries is extraordinarily great.

These parties had come up to the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's with some very complex ideological-political and social-class baggage. Correspondingly, in characterizing the ruling revolutionary groups in states with a socialist orientation, at the least the two basic paths of political institutionalization have to be distinguished.

The first of them reflects the process of the formation of vanguard workers' parties which have adopted scientific socialism, including the idea of proletarian power, for their ideological and political arsenal (the Yemeni Socialist Party, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola--Labor Party, the Mozambique Liberation Front of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Congolese Labor Party, the Commission for the Organization of an Ethiopian Workers' Party, and others).

In Ethiopia the Program of the National Democratic Revolution emphasizes that the previously semi-feudal and semi-capitalist Ethiopia will have to pass through a difficult stage of the national democratic revolution which has the task of "laying the foundations for the transition to socialism."³ At the same time, the leaders of the Commission for the Organization of a Workers' Party of Ethiopia believe that an organic connection between the struggle for political independence and the struggle for economic independence reflects a fundamental line of the national democratic revolution which is being guided by the strategy of scientific socialism.⁴

The other path of the political institutionalization and, consequently, of the formation of the political superstructure is connected with national democratic development in which a number of anti-imperialist parties and organizations proceed from the perspective of a transition toward a socialist goal on the basis of a revolutionary unification of the working masses and, first of all, of the peasantry under the leadership of petit bourgeois democracy. The borders between these forms and paths of institutionalization are, of course, very mobile.

So substantial a differentiation of the heterogeneous political forces of countries with a socialist orientation is one of the indicators of the profound inner contradictoriness and unevenness of the process of the development of a national democratic revolution into a socialist one. The above-noted dialectic of the revolutionary process has found a concrete historical manifestation above all in the fact that a large number of African and Asian countries (Afghanistan, South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and others) which emerged on the path of a socialist orientation only in the second half of the 1970's have already proceeded to the formation of a political superstructure of a qualitatively new type. Moreover, the practice of these countries once again confirms that the process of gradual transition toward the socialist goal, bypassing capitalism, cannot develop successfully

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without a highly organized political structure which has armed itself with a scientific socialist theory.

The emergence in the group of socialist oriented countries of vanguard type political parties is one of the basic indicators of the onset of a new stage in the national democratic struggle of their peoples. Practice has shown that many of the old mass anti-colonial fronts which are political associations with the widest social spectrum (from pauperized elements to individual representatives of the tribal elite) have begun under the new conditions of a shift in the center of gravity toward a struggle for social progress to gradually lose their ideological and political leadership in society. As a result of their unrestricted all-national representation, organizational-political friability, ideological eclecticism, and bourgeois-bureaucratic degeneration of part of their administrative cadres, some of these party-fronts have begun to lose effective control over the state apparatus, the armed forces, the economic management structure, and the diverse spheres of national culture. The deformation of the political structure has resulted in negative changes in production relations in which bureaucratic, neo-comprador capital is beginning to dominate.

It is precisely in this kind of critical situation that toward the mid-1960's the leadership of the People's Convention Party of Ghana (whose membership at that time of 2.5 million people was enormous for a country of that size) found itself. As a result of the immaturity of social class relations and the extreme weakness of the revolutionary democratic current in the party which on the whole gravitated toward scientific socialism, Ghana's important achievements in the anti-colonial and democratic struggle and its authority on the international arena were not objectively evaluated politically and ideologically by Kwame Nkrumah and his immediate party-state entourage. The leadership of the People's Convention Party of Ghana not only did not put up an effective opposition to the dangerous growth of a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie and to the wild corruption in the state apparatus, but did not show the necessary energy in the fight against anti-socialist elements within the party which was in need of an immediate radical purge and a fundamental reorganization on the principles of a genuinely vanguard workers' party. "The many years that K. Nkrumah was in power made the people accustomed to a cult of his personality, and produced in him himself a desire for one-man rule and to decide issues by means of issuing decrees."⁵ True, under the influence of world events and of an exacerbation of the class struggle K. Nkrumah began to gradually depart from the petit bourgeois nationalistic platform, but his ideological-political evolution clearly lagged behind the rapid regrouping of social forces in Ghanaian society. Moreover, K. Nkrumah proved to be unable to fully evaluate the prospects of the left-democratic current in the People's Convention Party of Ghana which was grouped around the leading nucleus of the newspaper SPARK which came out against, albeit not always consistently, the growth of national capitalism and a national-reformist interpretation of socialism and for a resolute mobilization of the masses to defend the revolutionary socialist gains.

Despite the officially proclaimed socialist goal, the state apparatus in Ghana became a means for personal enrichment, the ruling People's Convention Party of Ghana became an instrument of political careerism, and militant revolutionary democracy which had been born during the course of the anti-imperialist struggle

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gradually was pushed out by official political phraseology which was bereft of genuinely revolutionary content. This profound domestic crisis which created favorable conditions for a reactionary military coup resulted in the complete collapse of the once influential and authoritative all-national political party and in the collapse and destruction of the revolutionary elements in the country's political super-structure.

A temporary ebb of the revolutionary wave in Egypt, Ghana, Mali, Somalia, and certain other countries which has been above all a consequence of a critical gap between the, on the whole, favorable objective conditions of the social revolution and negative factors of a subjective character has caused serious damage to a common struggle of the peoples for independence and social progress. At the same time, it has been a very instructive lesson for new leading groups of the national and revolutionary democracy which has emerged as a militant and dynamic political force on the arena of social revolution in the 1970's.

The Party--The Vanguard in the Structure of Revolutionary Power

The revolutionary practice of the left flank of the socialist orientation makes it possible to distinguish various paths of the formation of vanguard workers' parties which is at the same time reflected in the complex and contradictory processes of the formation of the new revolutionary power. Certain vanguard parties have arisen as a result of the internal reorganization of single anti-imperialist fronts (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola--Labor Party, the Party of the Mozambique Front), others on the basis of the cooperation, coming together, and political organizational consolidation of revolutionary democrats and Marxist-Leninists (the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Yemen Socialist Party), and still others on the initiative of the revolutionary military leadership which has taken a course aimed at the establishment of solid relationships between the working masses of the city and the village (the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, the Commission for the Organization of a Workers' Party of Ethiopia).

However, whatever the regional or country peculiarities of the genesis of the vanguard socialist oriented parties may be, it is still probably too early to speak about the emergence in these countries of completely mature scientific socialist political parties. The leading elements of these parties have basically come to Marxist-Leninist theory, while a substantial part of the rank-and-file party masses are at the approaches to such positions. The establishment of this fact by no means depreciates the historic mission of the vanguard workers' parties in the national democratic revolution.

The vanguard workers' party is the leading political institution which arms itself ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and bases itself on a broad social coalition of the toiling peasantry, the working class which is being formed, non-proletarian strata of the workers, the democratic intelligentsia, and other non-exploited strata of the people. Its difference from national-democratic parties and organizations is in its resolute break with petit bourgeois (frequently utopian conservative) social political doctrines. At the same time, with regard to the level of the maturity of its cadres, its ideological-political experience, and the degree of its revolutionizing influence on the broad masses, the vanguard

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workers' parties are for the time being different from the communist and workers' parties. I believe that to a large extent A.V. Kiva is right when he writes: "Strictly speaking, parties of this type are not entirely revolutionary democratic parties; in some of their features, even if not so many of them, they are similar to Marxist-Leninist parties. In the same way, many of the leaders of these parties are in a certain respect still revolutionary democrats, but in others they are already Marxist."⁶

What is the social nature of this transitional state in which in the ruling party-state structure and, consequently, in the political superstructure which is being formed there is a capricious combination of the most diverse elements of social relations? Why has the revolutionary practice of most of the socialist oriented countries not created from the very beginning a "pure" party of the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist type? I believe that the search for an answer to this question is connected with the disclosure of the important characteristics of the maturing and development of a revolutionary situation in the liberated countries. These characteristics concern not only the social base and the motive forces, but also the political army and leading vanguard of the national democratic revolution.

The formation of a number of vanguard workers' parties in socialist oriented states reflects a deepening of the national democratic revolution, an intensification of the revolutionizing influence of real socialism, and an exacerbation of the crisis of bourgeois reformist and petit bourgeois doctrines and practices of "national socialism." In essence, the ideological-political turn of the broad non-proletarian masses of workers toward scientific socialism reflects the inability of the non-Marxist theories of "socialism" to achieve genuinely realistic actions to eliminate the socio-economic domination of imperialism and neo-colonialism and an accelerated solution of the most acute social problems of the transitional society. It is as a result of this that we have the decisive demarcation between the most consistent supporters of the vanguard parties and the reformists and petit bourgeois doctrines of "national socialism" and "special" paths of development. Thus, the advanced leaders of the African countries with a socialist orientation have persistently put forward the idea that there is not and cannot be a special "African" and "national" socialism. "There is one--scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. And it is because it is scientific that it is applicable to African society, as it is to any other society. An analysis of any reality, including African reality, has to be scientific. Otherwise, we would have to speak about European, Asiatic, and American socialism because it has been victorious in countries which are located on all of these continents.... We make all of these things clear to the masses and explain that it is precisely Marxism-Leninism which elucidates all of these problems and makes it possible for them to analyze them from a scientific point of view."

The gradual establishment of the ideological principles of scientific socialism in the process of the construction of the vanguard party of the new type is inseparably connected with the introduction of the principles of democratic centralism in the intra-party life of such parties. In striving to ensure the maximum ideological-organizational unity and stability of party ranks and the effectiveness of their influence on the mechanism of adopting political decisions and managing society, a number of vanguard workers' parties strive for the intensive introduction of the

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principles of the election of leading party agencies, the collectivity of party-state leadership, the responsibility of executive-managerial party institutions to the party and the vast majority of its members, and so forth. It is these organizational-political principles which were at the basis of party construction in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and other socialist oriented states. The problem of an optimal combination of party centralization and party democracy proved to be especially difficult under the unique condition of a socialist orientation. In order to bring the broad masses out of their age-long political lethargy the Program of the Yemen Socialist Party provides for a "comprehensive expansion and development of democracy, and for the enlistment of the broad masses of workers in participating in the management of the national economy, especially in the sphere of production, and in the implementation of state power and the correct solution of urgent public problems."⁸ The practical paths for realizing such an ideological-political position take account of the national specific nature of various countries, the level of the political culture of society, and the traditions and characteristics of the social psychology not only of the party but also of the non-party masses.

The Program of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola--Labor Party emphasizes the urgent necessity for combining party-state centralization with an increased role for the party masses. Representing the vanguard force of an alliance between the working class, the peasantry, revolutionary intelligentsia, and other laboring strata, the party is waging a resolute "struggle against all reactionary ideological trends such as racism, tribalism, and regionalism, and against all of the defects of the colonial way of thought such as superiority and inferiority complexes and a disdainful and haughty attitude toward the people."⁹

Among the serious obstacles which the political mobilizing and ideological activities of the new revolutionary power come up against are the many conservative survivals of patriarchal-communal and tribal-kin relationships. In many of the rural areas of the socialist oriented countries a very great influence is still exercised by various ethno-social barriers, traditional norms of social life, and also tribal leaders. The policy of a frontal assault on the positions of the tribal elite does not always bring positive results. For this reason, along with ideological and political organizational actions to limit the socio-political prerogatives of the traditional leaders, the ruling revolutionary parties in Mozambique, Angola, and certain other countries with a socialist orientation tried to attract some of these leaders to the side of the popular power, or, metaphorically speaking, to turn some traditional leaders who usually possess a definite minimum of education into "folk elders."

One of the most important preconditions for increasing the role of the vanguard parties in the struggle for a socialist orientation is a steady increase of the proportion of workers and toiling peasants in their structures. An intensively developing proletariat is the reliable social base for the vanguard revolutionary parties. As was noted at the Fifth Plenum of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (March 1981), approximately 25-30 percent of the new members and candidate members of the party were regular workers and toiling peasants.¹⁰ Taking account of local conditions, in Mozambique the most active participation in the selection of candidates for the Party of the Mozambique Liberation Front is taken

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by the entire labor collective which discusses in detail every candidate who has expressed a desire to join the party. As a result of this policy, "the class consciousness and sense of organization of the workers is steadily increasing and, moreover, with the development of industry and the increased role of workers' councils at enterprises, the workers are steadily turning into the leading force of the revolution."¹¹

The most advanced and conscious groups of the national, patriotic, and democratic intelligentsia play a most active role in the formation of vanguard workers' parties. In South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique, the Congo, and Afghanistan the revolutionary intelligentsia played a leading role in propagandizing scientific socialism and in its practical unification with the practice of the national democratic revolution. Moreover, not only the civilian but also the military intelligentsia is drawn into the processes of social radicalization.¹²

The establishment of national democratic power and vanguard parties has been accompanied by an internal demarcation within the ranks of the national intelligentsia. A part of it, not having become aware of the dialectics of revolutionary progress, withdraws from the active struggle; however, the movement is joined by new detachments of the intelligentsia which not only recognize the leading role of the vanguard party, but regard it to be an objective necessity.¹³ It is on this kind of ideological-political basis that the mobilization of wide circles of the progressive intelligentsia (along with other social classes and strata) into the ranks of the National Fatherland Front was begun in Afghanistan where various organizations of the creative intelligentsia which have the task of participating in the development of profound cultural transformations have begun to successfully operate.

Cadres of the national intelligentsia which are especially connected with the mass information media are playing a very substantial role in the mobilization of broad public opinion in support of the principles of the unity of the National Democratic Party of Afghanistan and of a resolute struggle against fractionalism, sectarianism and other negative phenomena which are hostile to the revolution.¹⁴ The patriotic intelligentsia which has adopted the ideas of scientific socialism and the principles of proletarian solidarity is gradually becoming an organic part of a new revolutionary intelligentsia of a proletarian-internationalist type.

Although the possibilities for maximum candid self-criticism are to a considerable extent limited by the hostile reactionary nationalist and neo-colonialist encirclement, one of the important political criteria for a strengthening of the internal maturity of the vanguard workers' parties is their endeavor to more soberly and critically evaluate and reinterpret their practical line in the socio-economic sphere.

In analyzing the documents and materials of the vanguard parties during the second half of the 1970's one's attention is struck by a critical reevaluation of the basic directions of socio-economic development which are connected, first of all, with subjective moments and with the level of economic-organizational leadership. Thus, in the materials of the First Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party it was noted that as a result of an acute shortage of national cadres, the leadership of

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certain state institutions and enterprises wound up in the hands of insufficiently trained people who possessed neither the appropriate abilities nor the necessary qualifications and, consequently, were incapable of effectively participating in the accomplishment of the difficult tasks of the people's democratic state. The ruling party and people's power suffered especially great damage as a result of a bureaucratic attitude toward certain groups of qualified specialists of the old school, which, in its turn, caused a definite weakening of the ties between the ruling party and the national intelligentsia.

"Methods of subjectivist leadership have caused important damage to the system of economic-cultural and administrative-political management. Errors were made in the selection and placement of economic cadres and in defining their functions.... Certain leaders did not use the official channels which had been established for connections between the leadership and the masses. This gave rise to violations in the work of certain administrative bodies, and subjectivist and volunteerist methods replaced the established laws, decrees, and instructions."¹⁵ Serious miscalculations in management resulted in the swelling of production expenditures, the poor use of a number of production capacities, and a break between the policy of increasing wages and raising labor productivity. These deformations and crisis tendencies put a sharp brake upon the creation of the new socio-economic basis and disturbed the already weak connections between the economic and political fronts of the socialist orientation.

Given the constant pressure of the petit bourgeois element and the subversive activities of neo-colonialism, any kind of political organizational instability which is engendered by a break by part of the party-state leadership from the masses becomes a "nourishing soil" for sectarianism and fractional and conspiratorial activities by anti-socialist elements. Analyzing in this connection the reasons which led to a dangerous attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup in Angola on 27 May 1977, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola noted: "Indeed, the poor organization and insufficient purposefulness of political and ideological work, a certain liberalism in organization as a result of which dangerous elements were not excluded from our movement in time, and insufficient political boldness by individual leaders and rank-and-file members of the Movement and the state apparatus in the face of an infiltration by these elements--these are some of the reasons for the fractional activity which developed into tragic events...."¹⁶

The ideological and political unity of leadership groups in the socialist oriented states on the basis of scientific socialism depends to a large extent upon the stubborn and painstaking work of the vanguard party on the ideological front and upon the depth of the introduction into the work of these parties of scientific socialist political organizational principles. In forming the structure of the top party-state system, selecting and providing ideological and political training for leading cadres, and setting up strong and stable relations with mass organizations, most of the vanguard workers' parties try to make federal use of the rich political organizational experience of the ruling communist and workers' parties.

In the establishment of the leading groups of the vanguard workers' parties one can trace a complex combination of modern and certain traditional forms of political culture with which the consistently revolutionary forces in socialist oriented states cannot but reckon. Thus, the Charter of the African Party for the Independ-

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ence of Evinea and Cape Verde makes the special stipulation that membership in the vanguard party is incompatible with any kind of negative influence from tribal, ethnic, clan, and personal relationships. In another case, in accordance with the Charter of the Party of People's Revolution of Benin, a CC Plenum which is called to elect the Politburo is usually chaired by the most elderly member of the party's leading body. There is no question that this decision reflects the definite influence of traditional society in which elders and very old people have high social prestige and enjoy the respect of the rest of society.

On the basis of a creative assimilation of the revolutionary experience of the international communist and workers' movement, the vanguard parties are developing an increasingly active struggle for the education of party cadres of a new type which are capable of being genuine builders of the new society. The most resolute participation in the struggle against all manifestations of the squandering and mismanagement of public resources, corruption, bribe-taking, and against arbitrariness and bureaucratic formalism is demanded from every one who joins the ranks of the vanguard parties. As is emphasized in this connection in the Charter of the Congolese Labor Party, party members, and especially leading cadres, are obliged to be simple and modest in their everyday lives, to be sensitive and attentive to the needs of the workers, and, at the same time, "to wage a resolute struggle against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, private property psychology, petit bourgeois egotism and individualism, tribal and religious survivals, and the prejudices of the past and superstitions."¹⁷

The problem of interaction between the various elements of the new party-political structure is one of the most difficult and contradictory problems of the establishment of the young vanguard parties. If the structure which is being examined is arbitrarily broken into three basic elements--leading, mass, and intermediate,--it is possible to uncover a number of specific interactions which are characteristic of transitional societies with a socialist orientation.

A definite separation of the leadership group from the socio-class base of the party both with regard to its ideological orientations and to its practical activities is without question one of the forms of the contradictory interaction between the party vanguard and the party masses. Already subtly noted by F. Engels on the basis of the historical example of the plebian-revolutionary party of Thomas Munzer in Germany, this problem has received a very interesting treatment in a joint study by USSR and GDR scholars as it applies to the present-day conditions of post-colonial societies: "One of the laws of the vast majority of revolutions consists in the fact that at the moment of revolutionary enthusiasm the revolutionary vanguard has a tendency to "run too far ahead," which is expressed in attempts to advance and begin to accomplish tasks for which the objective conditions have not yet matured."¹⁸

One or another aspect of the poor connections between the party vanguard and the party masses shows up especially at the initial stages of the revolutionary movement in almost all of the socialist oriented countries. They manifest themselves in an overestimation of the proletarian element in the democratic dictatorship of the people, and underestimation of the revolutionary potential of the non-proletarian masses of workers and small property holders, an endeavor to force the sociali-

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zation of the means of production and the cooperation of small producers, an underestimation of the goal of traditional, including religious, factors in the peasant consciousness, and an underestimation of the international factors of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

The complex and multi-stage process of the formation of the ideological and political platform of parties with a socialist orientation is by no means free of certain deviations which do not correspond to the real tasks of the social revolution.

Dangerous relapses of the "ultra-left" sickness which have found one or another expression in the activities in a number of young revolutionary parties that have been under the influence of an enormous mass of lumpens and petit bourgeois extremists have caused considerable harm to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. However, most of the vanguard parties succeed in blocking this dangerous sickness, which makes it possible to substantially accelerate the process of the establishment of the new revolutionary party and of the new political system of the socialist oriented society.

Progressive Changes in the Political Culture of the Transitional Society

Under the conditions of a socialist orientation one of the key problems of the formation of the new revolutionary power is connected with the necessity for achieving fundamental changes in the political culture of the society which is transitional to socialism. The many millions of workers of the town and country who in the past stood outside of active politics are intensively brought into the realization of profound revolutionary transformations. Overcoming step by step their many conservative prejudices and mastering literacy and the scientific system of political knowledge, ever new strata of the laboring people become accustomed in practice to the new political culture of socialist orientation and become a genuine subject of the revolutionary process.

The consequences of the introduction of the new political culture and, above all, of new ideas about people's power, democratic centralism, the interaction between the ruling party and the state, and the significance of international factors in the national democratic revolution are very many-sided. However, the most significant effect of the penetration into the masses of the principles of the new political culture can be found in the formation of revolutionary cadres.

As is known, at the initial stage of non-capitalist development the basic leading nucleus in the vanguard revolutionary democratic party is formed from the most advanced circles of the national intelligentsia. However, as the new revolutionary power is formed this narrow group of ideologists, organizers, and politicians is not capable of fully performing the growing functions of social management. From this follows the urgent necessity for the development of a wide front for the training and retraining of the party-state cadres of the revolutionary parties through the system of party schools which are already in operation in the metropolitan centers of the socialist oriented countries.

The attention of the revolutionary parties to the political mobilization problems of a social orientation, to the problems of thoroughly strengthening the connec-

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tions between the leadership group and the toiling masses, and to the rapid training of professional cadres not only on the basis of domestic potentials but of broad international assistance is already exercising a positive influence on the formation of the new party-state structure. Correspondingly, important socio-political changes have occurred in these countries which reflect the transition to popular democratic forms of power which, during the course of the subsequent development of the national democratic revolution into a socialist one, can acquire a class content adequate to them.¹⁹

The forms of international cooperation between the CPSU and the revolutionary democratic parties are of an extraordinarily rich and diverse character, including constructive negotiations on the highest party-state level, the conclusion of inter-party cooperation agreements, the exchange of party delegations, mutual participation in the work of party congresses and in other important state and political measures, an exchange of experience in party organizational and ideological work, the coordination of action in international organizations, and, as has been already been noted above, cooperation in the training of party-state and administrative-managerial cadres.²⁰

As is known, the educational institutions of the socialist states accept emissaries from the developing countries regardless of their social-class, national-ethnic, religious, and so forth membership. Nevertheless, the very logic of social demarcation results in the fact that the children of the local traditional aristocracy and of other exploiting groups prefer to receive their education, as a rule, in western universities, while the socialist countries are chosen basically by the representatives of non-privileged worker families and of the middle social strata. For this reason, the vast majority of the Asian and African students in the socialist countries come from the families of hired workers (workers, employees, technicians, engineers, workers in the service sphere, agricultural proletarians, peasants, and so forth), or from the families of small producers (small tradesmen, peasants, artisans, and so forth). The sons and daughters of middle-level entrepreneurs (rural farmers who employ hired labor, the owners of medium and large sales, credit, and commercial institutions) make up only a negligible part of the students. (Of course, membership in the more well-to-do strata of the transitional society is by no means some kind of insurmountable barrier to the penetration into this social milieu of progressive, revolutionary democratic, and socialist ideas.)

It is very interesting in this connection to compare the political culture of national and revolutionary democracies, the former of which played a prominent role in the revolutionary movement of the Asian and African peoples during the 1950's and 1960's, while the latter occupied leading positions in the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's.

The national democrat, as has already been noted above, is a revolutionary of the petit bourgeois type. The patriotic progressive and democratic ideals of his political culture are in sharp antagonism to his class-limited approach to the practical tasks of the social revolution, which is expressed above all in his inability, and, sometimes, in his unwillingness to base himself on the working masses, especially the working class, and to fully appreciate the importance of international interaction in the national democratic revolution.

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The revolutionary democrats who came out onto the arena of political struggle in the 1970's avoided many of the "illnesses of growth" of the previous generation of fighters against imperialism and domestic reaction. Thus, the political culture of the leading groups in the vanguard working parties is characterized by an objective evaluation of the relationship between national and international factors in the social revolution, a scientific understanding of the problems of the transitional transformations of a socialist orientation, and by the acceptance not only in theory but also in practice of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

In other words, in studying the problems of the formation and evolution of the new political superstructure in the socialist oriented countries it is necessary to take full account of the deep processes of domestic social demarcation in these countries and of the ever increasing unevenness of the development of the societies which have now emerged in the front line of the liberation, revolutionary struggle. In one group of the left oriented countries the new political system actively assists the formation of transitional (non-capitalist) production relations, the radical renewal of the social structure of society, and a consolidation of the ruling vanguard workers' parties. At the very same time, the other echelon of socialist oriented countries in which political regimes of the middle social strata, and especially of the petit bourgeois forces, have been established is experiencing serious crisis and dead-end tendencies which, in the final analysis, reflect the class-limitedness of present-day petit bourgeois nationalism. The profound anti-imperialist and anti-feudal and, partially, non-capitalist transformations in these countries are frequently combined with negative tendencies and dangerous anti-communist relapses which contain a serious threat of further deforming the very process of a socialist orientation.

The ruling socialist oriented parties possess an approximately single-type socio-class basis which is characterized by the predominance of peasant-artisan masses and of non-proletarian strata of workers and by the relative weakness of the national proletariat combined with increased activity by petit bourgeois elements. How is one to explain in this case that in one situation right-wing nationalists come out of this environment, while in others it is revolutionary democrats and the supporters of Marxist-Leninist doctrine?

It is a profound socio-political contradiction when social conditions which are outwardly of the same type and a very similar historical situation engender very dissimilar and sometimes diametrically opposed types of political leadership and exercise a very serious and frequently decisive influence on the character of the national democratic revolution and on the process of its interaction with world socialism and the world anti-imperialist struggle.

Directing the attention of philosophers and students of the East toward a study of political culture which frequently provides a very unique reflection of other key spheres of social development--economic, social, ideological, foreign political, and so forth--could become one of the approaches to the problems of social progress and, especially, to the formation of the new political superstructure in these countries. The temporal and spatial differences of political cultures will help to deepen our understanding of general sociological laws in the situation of the very "belated" historical development of the Asian, African countries.

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Various regional-country, national-ethnic, traditionalist, modernist, and other factors and, finally, historical "accidences" form, in the final analysis, the concrete social reality which determines not only one or another type of political consciousness among the masses, but also the character of the political leadership and a definite type of interaction between the ruling groups and popular masses and, consequently, the political superstructure of the transitional society. The variations of interaction between the most diverse elements of political culture and social reality are practically unlimited in the national democratic revolution. For this reason, frequently the very same forms of political organizations and methods of political actions (for example, the vanguard workers' party, a military coup, the taking of power by peaceful means, a partisan war, and so forth) which are doomed to failure at one phase of social development produced a genuinely revolutionary effect in a different historical situation. As practice shows, the process of political institutionalization in the socialist oriented countries frequently has a "zig-zag" character and falls and backward movements are possible here.

Thus, the formation of a new superstructure in the socialist oriented countries together with general sociological laws (the organic interconnection with the socio-economic base with production relations which are transitional toward a socialist perspective, and so forth) reveals certain important specific features. Above all, the degree of the relative independence of the basic superstructural institutions and, first of all, of the revolutionary state is extraordinarily great. This objectively increases the importance of the subjective factor--the role of the ruling vanguard workers' party in the political system of the transitional society. The process of the gradual drawing together of the socialist orientation and popular democratic development (which should not be identified with the process of the development of one type of social revolution into another) unfolds without the establishment of political power of a proletarian type; that is, without the direct entrance of these countries into the world socialist system. At the same time, in the struggle for the complete victory of the national democratic revolution the ruling vanguard parties base themselves on the enormous and decisive support of the countries of developed socialism.

By giving optimal assistance to the formation of new productive forces which accord with the basic criteria of the scientific and technological revolution, of new transitional (non-exploitation) production relations, and of a new social structure with a leading role for the workers of town and country, the superstructure of socialist orientation lays the foundation for the subsequent transition to socialism.

FOOTNOTES

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4. "The First Congress of the COPWE," Addis-Ababa, 1980; "The Ethiopian Herald," 19 December 1979.
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6. A.V. Kiva, "Countries with a Socialist Orientation," Moscow, 1978, p 138.
7. D. Sassu-Ngesso, "The Congo and the Chief Tasks of the Present Stage," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No. 4, 1978, p 76.
8. "Materials of the First Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party," Moscow, 1979, p 71.
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12. "The Intelligentsia and Social Progress in the Developing Countries of the East," Moscow, 1981; "The Ideology of the Revolutionary Democrats of Africa," Moscow, 1981.
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15. "Materials of the First Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party," pp 60-61; "Basic Directions and Indicators of the Second Corrected Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development for the Years 1981-1985," Aden, 1980, p 6.
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17. "Charter of the Congolese Labor Party (March 1979)." Cited From N.D. Kosukhin, "The Formation of an Ideological-Political Strategy in African Countries with a Socialist Orientation," Moscow, 1980, p 210.
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19. Ye. N. Prinakov, "Countries with a Socialist Orientation: A Difficult but Real Transition to Socialism," MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No. 7, 1981, p 14.
20. For More Details: K.N. Brutents, "The Liberated Countries in the 1970's," Moscow, 1979, p 142.

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2959

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REGIONAL

STUDY OF NATIONAL RELATIONS AT 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

Baku AZARBAYJAN KOMMUNISTI in Azeri No 7, July 81 pp 43-58

[Article by A. Deshdamirov: "The 26th CPSU Congress on Objectives in the Study of National Relations, International and National Processes in the USSR"]

[Text] The scientific understanding of real social processes, essentially the development and mutual relationship of the nations and peoples in our country, constitute one of the most important aspects of the ideological work of the Communist Party. The unity of theory and practice is a rule for all the activity of the CPSU. This has been even more brilliantly presented in the decrees and documents of the 26th party congress which was an important contribution to revolutionary science and which opened up a new stage in the comprehension and changing of reality. In the report of the CPSU CC made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, new theses were submitted which deeply analyzed the dialectics of contemporary development and enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

The materials of the 26th CPSU congress represent the multi-faceted substantiation and active implementation of the dialectics of Leninism which are a revolutionary methodology of change and comprehension of reality. By means of scientifically advancing a theoretical comprehension of social processes and the duties standing before the party and Soviet people, the ways which have been opened to achieve all the duties in the name of successfully advancing the forward movement of every nation and people, of all society, towards communism constitute an organic unity.

The dialectical principles of Lenin have been embodied in the decrees of the congress, in the analysis and disposition of fundamental questions of the building of communism and in their relationship to problems of our development. For example, we give the first requirement of dialectical logic expressed by V.I. Lenin: "Truthfully, in order to understand most acutely one must grasp and study all sides, all relationships and 'channels' of it" (V.I. Lenin, Works, v32, p.89). This requirement is based on analysis of the object under consideration in its entire condition, on the multi-faceted study of its internal content, external relations and mutual influence; in other words, the entire complex of the elements of which this object is composed and their mutual relations.

Communicating the complex character of objective social processes and their practical requirements define the necessity to theoretically comprehend them and work them out. The socio-historical practice of developed socialism places such problems before sociological thinking that they urgently demand multi-faceted analyses on

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different levels and the conducting of complex research. The intensification of material production and perfecting the social structure of our society, working out and perfecting a supply program, perfecting the material and spiritual bases of our way of life and the establishment of other very important and complex duties create a basis for the complex examination and achievement of these complex duties. The situation in all realms of the great socio-political and ideational-educational work implemented by Lenin's party in the process of the building of communism is the same.

All these completely pertain to fulfilling the active and theoretical duties in the national relations sector as well as to the sphere of activity of the principles of socialist internationalism.

I

As demonstrated at the 26th CPSU congress, the rebuilding of all social relations based on the principles of collectivism internally specific to a new structure in a period of developed socialism is coming to an end. This rebuilding encompasses all facets and "levels" of national relations which are a specific sector of the social life of our society.

In a society of developed socialism, national relations, by striving for the factual unity of peoples in decisive sectors of social life, by the processes of the equalization of levels of economic development of the Soviet republics and by strengthening the single character of their social structure, acquire a new historical quality characterized by a deep and multi-faceted spiritual-political unity. The maturity of socialism means raising the level of the economy and culture of every one of our peoples to an unprecedented height, broadening the historically creative scope of the workers of all nations, and an even further manifestation of their social and spiritual force. The new historical unity which embodies the fundamental socio-economic, state-political unity of ideas of our multi-national society -- the Soviet people -- is the most important manifestation of the quality of the condition and level of development of inter-national mutual relations in mature socialism.

The constant concern shown by the Leninist national policy of the party, by the party for the interests of every people separate from and connected with the interests of the unity of all the Soviet peoples, consideration of both the basic and daily interests of every people in the structure of the state and in economic and social policy form an internationalistic relationship of national interests with all-Union, all-people interests in social development.

In L. I. Brezhnev's congress report the achievements of the Soviet republics in the 10th Five-Year Plan and during the entire 1970s were deeply generalized; the situations and prospects for the development of national relations were analyzed, and a precise political evaluation was given to the high level of international unity of fraternal peoples. It was especially noted at the congress that the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our multi-national Fatherland is being unceasingly strengthened, that national cultures progress and enrich each other mutually, that a culture of a unique Soviet people is being formed. At the same time, the congress demonstrated the necessity to increase attention to problems emerging in these ongoing processes and to resolve them on time.

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The ideas and claims put forth at the congress enriched the theoretical-methodological bases for the scientific administration of national and international processes and further defined the road of development of the principles of Lenin's national policy of the party creatively to accord with a new historical situation. These ideas and assertions are to mobilize scholars -- philosophers, sociologists, historians and ethnographers -- and demand that they increase their efforts in working out and solving new problems scientifically. The theses and results of the 26th congress give researchers a precise methodological position and show them the main questions to which they should direct their creative efforts.

Perfecting socialist democracy in the sector of national relations, strengthening the unity and state structure of the Soviet people, developing friendly and fraternal relations of workers from all the nations in all sectors of social mutual influence from the country's broadest scope down to mutual relations in a labor collective, harmoniously relating the national and international aspects of the way of life of Soviet men and finding a solution for the significant obligations of socio-economic development of the republics -- these are the concrete positions in the active implementation of the contemporary national policy of the party.

L. I. Brezhnev said: "Our line is to make maximum use of the entire potential in order to increase the material and spiritual potential of every republic and simultaneously for the harmonious development of the entire country. On this path we have truly made historical achievements." (Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress. Baku, Azerbaijan State Press, 1981, p. 73). The unswerving implementation of Lenin's national policy has incomparably hastened the socio-economic progress of the republics. All of them have entered the 1980s with a highly developed economic structure. The results of the 10th Five-Year Plan prove this clearly. For example, the volume of industrial production grew 142 percent in Belorussia, 127 percent in Uzbekistan, 141 percent in Georgia, 147 percent in Azerbaijan, 127 percent in Lithuania, 132 percent in Moldavia, 129 percent in Tajikistan, 146 percent in Armenia and 124 percent in Estonia. The process of the intensification of agriculture in every union republic continues. Processes in the spiritual progress of the nations and peoples of our country have reached a new height. The 26th party congress highly regarded the help given the unique complex of the country's economy from workers of the Ukraine, Belorussia and Kazakhstan, Transcaucasia, Central Asia and the Baltic states and by all peoples of the USSR.

As said at the congress, in the past major changes took place in the location of productive forces; territorial-production complexes were formed in the European part of the RSFSR, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan; construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline has continued successfully. All these dynamic and multifaceted processes create profound, serious changes in the content and structure of national relations, strengthen the internationalization of social life and find their reflection in an ethnic unity.

Within the processes of formation of the social homogeneity of our society a new historical unity is further strengthened; inter-national mutual relations and mutual interdependence are reinforced. The 10th Five-Year Plan was a new great step forward in developing and deepening indestructible international connections and friendship, fraternal and mutual aid of nations and peoples of the USSR, of progress in their

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social and spiritual powers, and the strengthening of international processes. All these are ineradicably linked to the creativity and dynamic implementation of Lenin's principles in the national policy of the party by the CPSU CC and a result of actively fulfilling decrees of the 26th party congress.

In the congress materials of union republic communist parties, important generalizations were made on the experience of active implementation of the party's national policy and on results of the socio-economic and spiritual development of different peoples of the country. These materials, which reflect past successes of fraternal peoples of the USSR, must be deeply and scientifically analyzed and communicated in our work.

The disposition of such questions by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev from the tribunal of the 26th CPSU Congress acquire a special actuality based on the significant evaluations given to the results of party organizational activity in the cities of Moscow and Leningrad and many republics, oblasts and regions of the country. For example, the 26th CPSU CC, gave the highest evaluation to the work of the Azerbaijan party organization: "In mobilizing the workers to achieve the quotas of the 10th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, the activity of the Azerbaijan Communist Party is worthy of a positive evaluation."

This circumstance requires deeply studying the experience of Azerbaijani communists who prompted an active, competent party leadership in all sectors of economic and cultural building and of the social and spiritual development of the republic workers.

Materials and documents of the 30th congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, which encompass all sectors of the left and work of our republic, have a great socio-political and scientific worth from this point of view. The basic political and socio-economic results of the development of Azerbaijan in the 10th Five-Year Plan and in the 1970s as a whole were deeply generalized.

The Azerbaijan SSR, first among union republics, achieved the 5-year plan regarding industrial and agricultural development in 4 years and 2 months. The republic implemented in 4 years the 10th Five-Year Plan regarding the growth of national income. In 5 years national income increased 44 percent instead of the planned 32 percent, and industrial production increased 47 percent instead of 39. The average yearly growth of production in agriculture grew 47 percent instead of the planned 21.

As a whole, industrial production increased by a factor of 2.2, and general agricultural production twofold. The specific importance of Azerbaijani industrial products within the general volume of the country's industrial production increased 31 percent. The share of our republic in the total general agricultural growth was 3.1 percent in the 9th Five-Year Plan and 6 percent in the 10th; in other words, it grew roughly twofold.

Reaching the quotas of the 10th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule was noted by a high award of the Fatherland -- our their Medal of Lenin. Due to results of All-union socialist competition in 1980 and the 10th Five-Year Plan Soviet Azerbaijan was awarded the Red Banner of the CPSU CC, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee.

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These data conspicuously characterize the growth of the republic's economic potential and a rise to new heights of progress in all sectors of the life of the Azerbaijani people. As a result, all these were reflected in the growth of aid to the united economic complex of the country by Soviet Azerbaijan and in the broadening and enriching of its socio-economic and scientific-technical relations with all the fraternal republics. Progressive changes in the structure of the dynamic development and material structure of industrial and agricultural production stimulated processes perfecting the social structure of the republic. As a result, the same type of social structure in Azerbaijan was strengthened through the structure of Soviet society, and the international relations of the Azerbaijani people were broadened and enriched.

As demonstrated at the 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress, these successes were gained under the leadership of the Communist Party thanks to its wise national policy and constant multi-faceted help. It was stated at the congress of the republic party organization: "The 1970s proved brilliantly the great strength of Lenin's national policy. Lenin's national policy manifested itself under the concrete conditions of each Soviet republic in all its variety." (Materials of the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. Baku, 1981, p. 16).

In the 10th Five-Year Plan all this found its embodiment in the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union republics, in specific decrees, in the new law on autonomous regions in the RSFSR, in the expansion of Central Asian irrigation systems, in the development of reindeer culture in the Far East and of sheep husbandry in Kirghizstan, in the protection of the resources of Lake Sevan and in the economic and cultural development of the peoples of Abkhazia, Tuva, Buryatia and the North. Leonid Illich said at the 26th CPSU Congress: "The mere recitation of decrees accepted in the report period and measures taken by these decrees on a daily basis show how broad and multi-faceted are the questions which occupy the CPSU CC and the government when they timely analyze problems regarding the developing all republics in our country and strengthening the USSR."

Special decrees on the development of the most important sectors of Azerbaijani industry and agriculture accepted in the 9th and 10th Five-Year plans by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers brilliantly exemplify the concern and attention given to every republic by the party and government. These decrees defined the comprehensive analysis and long-term prospects of major socio-economic development problems of the republics in every stage of the struggle to implement decrees of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses.

The active implementation of these decrees, which are historically important for the Azerbaijani people, assured the fundamental elevation of the entire Azerbaijani economy in the 1970s, the rapid development of industry and agriculture, the attainment and overfulfillment of plans and socialist obligations and the significant improvement of quality indicators in every sector of the economy.

II

National relations, perfected and developed through revolutionary change of social life, manifests its active influence on the character and pace of social progress and helps them gain impetus. The peoples of the USSR, pooling in every circumstance

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their economic possibilities and resources, give the resources of new regions for use through joint efforts that help equalize the development of different republics and oblasts; in this way they increase the economic power of our country.

The broad scope of building communism and complex needs stimulate the demand to constantly perfect national relations and to deepen and develop work cooperation on the all-union, inter-republic and inter-national levels, a multi-faceted relationship in the building activity of fraternal peoples and a closer unity of the multi-national Soviet people in this area.

Development prospects of national relations ineradicably depend on the growth of the scope of societization on the principle of socialism in material production. This is the firm foundation of the most important factor ensuring the international unity of the Soviet people and the multi-faceted development and perfection of national relations -- the internationalization of the productive forces of our society.

The increasing growth of socialist production and the strengthening of its social character resembles a scientific-technical revolution which is expanding under contemporary conditions. The necessity to strengthen the relationship between scientific-technical progress, the growth of the centralization of production and the further internationalization of productive forces by all channels arise out of this because this relationship significantly defines the further development of the objective basis of the internationalizing processes of social life. Changes now occurring in the content and structure of national relations through the influence of scientific-technical progress are some of the most important signs of a developed socialist society; these signs are reflected in the reinforcement of the life activity of Soviet men and in strengthening the inter-national bases in all sectors of their daily way of life.

Internationalization at the stage of mature socialism creates qualitatively new multi-faceted relations between nations and brings about their rapprochement. This opens a wide arena into the most valuable aspects and points of stability in the synthesis of the life and traditions of different peoples, and into the new international forms of social life, culture and living standards. The perfection of the internationalization of national relations plays an active role under conditions of socialism.

At the stage of developed socialism the qualitative change and perfection of the material international bases and social forms of the entire standard of living regarding the unity within it, of life activity, occupies an increasingly broader arena, possesses a complex character, and creates new possibilities for the even closer unification of all society and every socialist nation, and for their multi-faceted full and harmonious development. Additionally, the legitimate demand to deepen by every channel the international processes of the objective conditions of our society's development is revealed even more clearly; now the intensive economic and socio-cultural development of fraternal peoples continue even more quickly based on these processes.

An important scientific-practical duty emerges from the consideration and study of the internationalizing processes in social life; the results emerge clearly in the changes in the structure of national relations, in the way of life, in the forms of the community, in customs and drives, and in men's material and spiritual needs.

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The increasing growth of internationalization in different facets of the life of each of the Soviet peoples, the elimination of traditions and vestiges of the past, the strengthening of the general, international, common Soviet indicators connected to progressive national characteristics -- all these processes in their complexity duly grow out of socialist social relations and pass into communist social relations. From the point of view of theses put forth at the 26th CPSU Congress, these processes must be deeply and scientifically analyzed.

The friendship of fraternal peoples is a powerful source of the rapid elevation to the summits of building socialism and communism in the land of the Soviets. As shown at the congress, this friendship assured the successful implementation of the party's program responsibilities regarding the national question and helped the national provinces of the Russia of the past quickly reach the level of development of the center.

In this work the gratuitous help of the Russian people played a very important role. While advancing our society along the road of building communism, the international union of workers from all nations is further strengthened, and the friendship of peoples becomes richer and more fruitful. The dialectics of this rare spiritual-political event are thus: first, towards the mutual help of these people through the very great and fundamentally unilateral help of the Russian people to all other peoples who had been oppressed and backward in development. Now the friendship of peoples finds its embodiment in the exchange of material and spiritual resources which unite dozens of nations and peoples in variegated, multi-faceted relations in development and comradely competition. Today, the friendship of peoples is at the core of collective experience and wisdom which serve the building of a new life for the peoples. Today, the friendship of peoples means the concentration of the efforts of nations and peoples in the most important decisive sectors and objectives in building communism at the present period.

Every stage of our forward movement is marked by construction on the all-union scale by shockworkers and the growth of help in works common to the people by every nation and people. The party recommended the development of the Non-chernozem of the RSFSR as one of the important orientation points of the joint efforts of all peoples of our country in the period prior to its congress: "For a number of reasons this region is in a difficult situation relative to some other regions. The CPSU CC and the Soviet government have taken broad measures to develop the Non-chernozem zone under consideration and have implemented them. This duty is so complex and urgent that it must be done in the shortest time possible through the joint efforts of all the republics. For us this kind of experience is a rewarding experience. We recall extending the Turksib, constructing Ural-Kuzbas, exploiting the virgin lands and restoring Tashkent. One must work with the same effort and solidarity in the Non-chernozem zone." This work was broadened in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Azerbaijani workers made a worthy contribution to the development of the Non-chernozem zone. Now, international cooperation has taken on an even greater scope. There is no doubt that the call of the party will increase the efforts of fraternal peoples and unite them even more closely in the name of a great goal.

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III

Thus, the 1970s were a new great step in the further progress of nations and peoples, in their rapprochement with each other and in their close unification into a new historical unity -- the Soviet people. It was noted at the 26th congress that today the unity of Soviet nations is stronger than ever. Certainly this is not to say that all questions in the national relations sector have been resolved. L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress: "The development dynamics of a large multi-national state such as ours raise significant problems demanding the concerned attention of the party." Lenin's party always keeps problems of the development of national relations at the center of attention and resolves them in a manner appropriate to the interests of every republic and every nation individually. These and results which develop and concretize Leninist national policy principles of the 26th CPSU Congress are combined with deep respect for the national characteristics of peoples and a concern for further strengthening their friendship and unity.

The 26th CPSU Congress paid special attention to one of the most important aspects of the socialist national relations which evolved in our country. The discussion was about relations between nations on the scope of the different republics, oblasts and krais and about the unswerving implementation of Lenin's national policy principles under the specific conditions of the corresponding regions. It is clear that these questions were not raised by chance. But first one must examine the question of the scope and level of the mutual activity of nations and peoples, because national relations are always formed from these. Then, the channels and methods of the relationship to international processes, their study, generalization and administration depend on the level of national relations, their "degree," geography and whatever the specific subject is.

National relations constitute a special sector of social relations and reflect the society's social-ethnic structure. The mutual activity of nations is turned into a structure in which the basic elements of the social system in the national relations complex exist according to the basic patterns of social unity; in other words the discussion is about the economic, territorial-production, ethnolinguistic, spiritual-ideological and socio-psychological aspects of this mutual activity.

National relations in the USSR are multi-schematic, and their different levels reflect in this or another form the variety and many-sidedness of the ethnic composition of Soviet society. Nations and peoples which are the basic populations of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and national regions are differentiated between the subjects (or transmitters, participators) in national relations. On the territory of the majority of the national republics and oblasts and in all the large cities of the country a significant population of different nations exist in mixed form and participates in mutual inter-national activity. Social-class, personal, family-marriage, state-political, etc. structures differ in the national relations system.

Elements of national relations do not have the same content but are connected to one another in a complex, mutually subordinate form. With them social-class relations among nations and peoples play a decisive role.

Relations between Soviet republics are the fullest, broadest, most organized sector of national relations; the Soviet socialist state plays a basically subjective role. In the activity of our state the principles of socialist federalism are organically related to Soviet national state building.

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The Soviet state plans and organizes the development of nations and national relations. The role of the Soviet federation which interconnects national relations reveals itself here. The federation administers national and international processes by means of its own state government and state administrative organs on the widest scale.

The state leadership of the mutual activity of nations and peoples encompasses the most important channels of cooperation in the economic and cultural sector and in social and political development. Thus, relations between republics are not limited only by state activity. The special importance and benefits of other forms of international relations among workers of different republics at the stage of mature socialism is steadily growing.

Relations between nations on the scope of individual republics and oblasts is completely another kind of characteristic of international mutual influence. They are differentiated from national relations formed on the level of the whole society according to structure and scope. Such relations are even more naturally transmitted into the content of social life of an individual republic or city, and many of their facets were strengthened in the corresponding social structures. Here the number of the population subordinate to each other, the nature of the location of national groups, the degree of their internal unity and mutual proximity acquire great importance.

The composition of the population in Soviet republics is multi-national. Related to this, the mutual relationships of nations are an important structural element of the social organization in every republic. Inter-national and ethnic intergroup ties which are strengthened in the social structures and local characteristics of the pattern of life encompass the most diverse sectors of life and activity from production collectives to family-marriage relations.

National relations within the republics under conditions wherein international processes are strengthened have an even greater importance as an active factor in developing the republic's economy and culture. The strengthening of the multi-national character of the population together with the growth of the local populations of republics, changes occurring in the ethnodemographic structure, the broad development of all forms of communication between nationalities, the growth of situations involving a change in a dwelling place among the population of republics, migratory processes and natural assimilation processes characterize significantly the dialectics of the development of national relations both within and between republics. The growth of marriages between persons of different nationalities is a manifestation of the unceasing rapprochement between nations and peoples.

All these progressive processes are not equally meaningful by their character or manner of manifestation. These processes, where attention is slack towards ideational-educational work or the specific needs and demands of the people, or internationalistic norms are disregarded in cadre education, can lead to situations of conflict or contradiction.

At the 26th CPSU Congress it was stated: "In recent years the number of citizens who are not natives of local nationalities has grown significantly in a number of republics. They have their own specific demands in the language, culture and

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festyle sectors." It is a responsible duty of republic party organizations to influence these types of questions profoundly, to show ways to resolve these questions opportunely, to ensure the necessary representation of all nations in party and state organs, and to take the enterprising and ideational-spiritual qualities of everyone into consideration at this time.

An orderly process such as the well-rounded development of nations and their rapprochement to each other influences all sectors and realms of the life of our society. This process found its brilliant embodiment in the international unity of the workers of every Soviet republic. The feeling of exclusiveness of different nations in territorial, socio-cultural and life style is long past. Now the multi-national population of republics is a friendly work collective living by the laws of the socialist way of life.

Internationalism, friendship and brotherhood of peoples in Azerbaijan dominates the mentality. The Azerbaijan Communist Party, which is faithful to the internationalistic traditions of the party and the Soviet people, unceasingly follows Lenin's national policy, always shows concern for the social and cultural development of all nations living in the republic, attentively studies their specific demands in regarding language, culture and life style, and seriously implements internationalism in cadre questions.

Experience shows that such practices increase the growth of the masses' socio-political activity, their help in economic and cultural building and, as a result, strengthens the ideational-spiritual potential of inter-national relations. As noted in the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, in the 1970s "the international unity of multi-national Soviet Azerbaijan was strengthened further, and the international fraternal relations of dozens of nations living in our republic was deepened and diversified further." This mentality of inter-nationalism, friendship and brotherhood, which rules in the republic, is one of the most important factors in the workers' successes and achievements.

Ideas and principles of internationalism, which have firm roots in all sectors of our life, have raised national relations in the USSR to such a spiritual height that national and ethnic differences can no longer interfere in men's relations. Thus, the growth of the scope of community among workers who are not only not close ethnically but from dozens of nations significantly different from one another brings forth many problems; solution of these problems depends to a significant degree on the development of a culture of internationalist relations and education in tact and ethics in inter-national mutual activity.

The cultural-living, ethnolinguistic and social psychological characteristics of different nations are reflected in the conceptions, relations, and interests of men. The intensive social and international processes in society today considerably change these characteristics. The moral and spiritual resources of peoples are being created, developed and strengthened to join together even more harmoniously and to mutually influence other general aspects in the living pattern, in common Soviet traditions and in men's nature and relationships. Thus, the party speaks out both against not taking national differences into account and against exaggerating them. The 26th CPSU Congress declared: "We are against tendencies directed at the artificial elimination of national characteristics. But we also consider it unacceptable

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to exaggerate these characteristics." In all its work, Lenin's party conducts an uncompromising struggle against such manifestations as chauvinism and nationalism which are foreign to national feelings and the nature of socialism which respects the worth of every man. As willed by the great Lenin, the party speaks against "petty nationalistic limitation, isolation and individualism," and definitely against national egoism and arrogance; these negative situations reveal themselves in tendencies towards occasional localism, attempts to glorify remnants of the past, nourishing a non-class point of reference in evaluating historical events, etc.

Eliminating all manifestations of nationalist mentality is in line with the interests of all the nations and peoples of the country which form the basis of the USSR Constitution. An implacable relationship to all manifestations alien to internationalism and an uncompromising struggle against them are among the most important stances in perfecting national relations, strengthening the friendship and brotherhood of peoples in the USSR and educating the new man.

The demands of building communism, the ever deeper influence on international processes in all sectors of the life of nations and peoples and the dialectics of development of national relations at the present stage are raising scientific research into mutual influence in sectors of the social and cultural conceptions of nations and national groups as well as in inter-national community psychology, and setting up and working out the national-psychological characteristics of men to the highest priority. Studying the position and role of the personality in the system of national relations and in international and national processes acquires special importance.

The party, following Lenin's directive regarding subordinating "the interests of the specific to the interests of the general" gives special importance to the international education of Soviet men. L. I. Brezhnev said: "It is the sacred duty of the party to educate the workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and in the spirit of pride in belonging to the one, great Soviet Fatherland." (Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, p. 75).

The emergence of this patriotic feeling of all our peoples, while dependent on the social conception, psychology and culture of socialist peoples and nations that bring together a new historical unit of men and that are occupied with solving general unique duties in sectors of economic, socio-political and cultural building, is an important ideational-political and emotional-mental result of their developing and enriching each other. The study of the origin, content and prospects for development of the feeling of mutual national pride of Soviet man, and working out the active educational obligations connected to this is a broad comprehensive problem in the Marxist-Leninist theory pertaining to society.

In moving the question of the mutual national pride of Soviet man to the center of attention of Soviet philosophers and sociologists, one is forced to see that it opens up another important area in the sector of studying the Soviet people as a new historical entity. The emergence and development of this unique quality in the social concept of the entire multi-national Soviet people, this manifestation common to the psychology of Soviet men of every nationality reflects the high level of unity of the Soviet people; this unity is based on a very firm socio-economic,

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state-legal, and cultural-ideological foundation. In this context, the mutual national pride of Soviet man strikes the eye as a product of the achievements of Soviet society in solving the national question socialistically, as an emotional-spiritual summit of the friendly and cooperative relations of workers from all nationalities and as an already-formed international concept of the Soviet people.

Examining the objective conditions of the origin, source and formation of the mutual national pride of Soviet man and scientific analysis of its sociocultural content can significantly help the communist education of the workers, essentially in the work of educating them in Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. The responsibility of philosophers, sociologists and other social scientists is to broaden this kind of research and help develop and deepen the mutual national pride of Soviet man in the generation growing up and among all the workers.

IV

As stated at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the experience gained in solving the national question in our country, the successes gained by the nations and peoples of the USSR in economic and social development has great importance among peoples." (Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress. Speech of Comrade G. A. Aliyev, KOMMUNIST 26 February 1981). Our historical experience gained in eliminating centuries-old backwardness and creating a modern economic structure and culture is valuable for young national states, especially for states opting for a socialist stance.

At the 26th congress our party generously talked about its long experience in revolutionary change and showed that this experience was never accepted involuntarily and that a non-creative relationship to selecting channels of thoughtful revolutionary change is alien to the internationalistic position of communists. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress: "...All socialist countries implemented their revolutions in forms special to themselves which emerged relative to class forces within each of them according to national groupings and external conditions." If those talking about "parallels" today or accepting forms and schema by force, or those juxtaposing communist parties according to whether the paths selected or not selected were through the rebuilding of society, if they interested themselves in the countries of socialism, specifically with the multi-faceted, varied experience gathered in the sector of building socialism in our country and in all the Soviet republics, it would not be bad.

The dialectics of national and international characteristics in the change of social relations by revolutionary means and building a new life holds an important place in the materials of the 26th Party Congress.

V. I. Lenin taught: "All nations will come to socialism, this is inevitable, but all of them will not arrive at it in the same way; every nation will create something specific in this or another form of democracy and this or another type of the dictatorship of the proletariat and at this or another tempo of socialist change of different sectors of social life." (Works, v.23, p. 68). The actuality of these theses, which have been confirmed by historical practice, was noted with a new force at the 26th CPSU Congress; the Congress showed that the successful logical application of general principles and rules according to definite concrete historical conditions is a necessary condition for successfully achieving the duties of building. Such a

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thesis, which is important in principle, of the theory of Marxism-Leninism forms the basis of this requirement so that the major general rules of building a socialist revolution and socialism do not manifest themselves in a pure form in specific historical truth but in changed forms which the great diversity of historical, socio-economic, national, cultural life styles and other characteristics and traditions create.

The mechanical repetition of principles and methods of building socialism is foreign to proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism revolves around broadening the scope of social creativity and the capacity to search for and find a realistic way to attain general international goals under specific national conditions. Conducting an ill-considered struggle in the question of the relationship to the processes of building socialism and communism, being unaware of specific conditions and national-historical traditions, disregarding the most important foundations of Marxism-Leninism and not paying attention to general rules of building socialism and communism cannot and must not occur. Vladimir Illi'ch Lenin taught: "Those conducting a struggle for specific questions without resolving the general questions will inevitably 'run up against' these general questions at every step. To blindly run up against these in every specific situation condemns their policy to the worst wavering and lack of principle." (V. I. Lenin, Complete Works, v.15, p. 407).

Acting on Lenin's directives, our party is founded on a deep understanding of the general laws of social development. By taking concrete circumstances into account there is a way, studied and confirmed through all practical experience in the world revolutionary process, to establish these laws.

General characteristics of the stimulating multi-faceted experience in developing our society have been organically joined to aspects expressing the historical characteristics and national qualities of this or that sector of social reality. Also, as practice has shown, the sphere of general international aspects in the advance towards communism is being regularly and unceasingly broadened, while the sphere of specific aspects is being circumscribed.

The historical experience of world socialism irrefutably proved the general importance of the basic laws of building a new society, laws which were revealed by Marxism-Leninism and which were embodied in the assiduous activity of Soviet communists for the first time. This experience concerned Lenin's idea of the necessity of taking specific living conditions and characteristics of different peoples into consideration in order to attain general, historical international objectives.

The 26th CPSU Congress believably proved the party's faithfulness to the Leninist revolutionary methodology in the complex solution of different, complicated objectives of the economic, social and cultural development of the USSR peoples. The party's concern for developing each Soviet republic and the entire USSR is clearly reflected in the Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development Until 1990 and in the 1981 plans for all union republics. These plans open broad new possibilities for further progress and closer rapprochement of nationalities and for strengthening the Soviet people's unity.

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The great successes and achievements of the USSR peoples and their unshakeable friendship and brotherhood are the most valuable achievements of our society and a great historical achievement praised by all. But life does not stand still; socialist national relations will develop further, will deepen and be perfected. This demands that scholars, researchers, propagandists and organizers approach the manifestations and processes of modern national relations attentively, purposefully and creatively. The 26th CPSU Congress put forth a number of primary theses characterizing deeply and multi-facetedly the national relations of a society under developed socialism in important political and theoretical documents. Studying and transmitting these theses are now one of the important duties of our entire ideological work.

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REGIONAL

ETHNIC STATUS OF 'MOUNTAIN JEWS' REVIEWED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA in Russian No. 5, Sep-Oct 81 pp 109-112

[Article M. Ye. Matatov: "On the Question of the Tat Ethnos"]

[Text] The nationalities question has been and continues to be one of the most difficult problems of social development whose broad historical solutions were only made possible by the October Revolution. Lenin's theory of the nation and Leninist principles of the organization of nationality relations have become the basis for the successful solution of the nationality question. They have found their embodiment in real socialism and in the fact of the formation of a new international and socio-political community--the Soviet people.

The Tats--a small people which lives in Azerbaijan and in Dagestan--have a complex history. Their distant ancestors together with other Iranian speaking tribes came from the north. In the beginning of the first millennium B.C. these tribes lived a nomadic life on the vast steps of Eurasia stretching from the Dnepr to the Ural Steppes. In the seventh century B.C. they penetrated into the Caucasus and Iran and occupied vast areas there.¹

The distinguished Soviet specialist in Eastern studies I.M. D'yakonov believes that the Tats, Talyshi, Mazanderantsy, and Gilyaki to this day speak dialects "which represent remnants of the Indo-European language" which was originally the language of eastern Midiya, and that the opinion that the Tats and Talyshi were subjected to Persianization is fundamentally incorrect.²

The well-known Dagestani historian R.M. Magomedov also connects the origin of the Tats with the infiltration of Dagestan from the north by Iranian speaking tribes which later, during the period of the rule of the Sasanids, settled in various areas of the Caucasus. Subsequently, this scholar believes, the "Tats developed as an individual ethnic group in the general mass of other ethnic groups."³

Like many other peoples of the Caucasus, the Tats were completely illiterate and their way of life was semi-patriarchal. One of the peculiarities of the Tats is that before the revolution they, despite their small numbers, professed three religions: Islam, Christianity, and Judaism (the latter was professed by 95 percent of the Tats of Dagestan). Moreover, only the followers of Judaism, the so-called Mountain Jews (dag-chufut), were separated into a special people on the basis of this religious characteristic.

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The dominant opinion is that a people is characterized by a common language and territory, a common economic, political, and cultural life, and by ethnic self-consciousness.⁴ On the basis of these characteristics, all of the Tats, regardless of their religious beliefs, were classified as a single people as early as the 1930's. Since time immemorial they have been living in Azerbaijan and Dagestan, they speak a single language, have common cultural traditions, and since time immemorial have maintained friendly relations with one another, which was noted by many pre-revolutionary travelers and investigators. Under Soviet power the Tats created their own writing and literature for the first time. A Statute on the Tats as a single people was put into the Constitution of the Dagestan ASSR which was adopted by the 11th All-Dagestan Congress of Soviets in 1937, and confirmed by the presently operating Basic Law of the republic which was adopted in 1978.

The decision to give a single designation to the Tat language groups of the population was of exceptional importance in strengthening the freindship of the peoples of Dagestan.

As is noted in the Decree of the CC CPSU "On a Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," imperialist propaganda is constantly waging a fierce assault on the minds of Soviet people in order to undermine the international friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union. This same goal is served by the attempts of the Zionists and their supporters to number all people who profess or professed Judaism, including the Tats, among the "world Jewish nation." V.I. Lenin had already regarded this propagandistic conception as being "completely invalid scientifically" and "reactionary in its political meaning."⁵

When one examines the history of the formation of the Tat people from the position of Lenin's theory of nations and compares the indisputable facts of the past, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the version regarding the membership of some of the Tats, namely the Judaic Tats, to one of the biblical "Tribes of Israel" is without grounds historically, ethnographically, and antropologically.

Where, then, did the Judaic Tats come from? As is known, the first migrations of ancient Jews from Palestine took place many centuries before our era. After conquering the Israeli Kingdom and its capital of Samaria (722 B.C.), the Assyrians expelled 27,000 Jews. The Babylonians, after the subjugation of Judea and the destruction of Jerusalem (568 B.C.), also expelled 15,000 people (the so-called Babylonian Imprisonment). According to historians, these two streams of migrants belonged basically to the upper, well-to-do strata of Jewry and were put by their conquerors in the economically developed areas of Ancient Dvurech'ye (present day Iraq) and in the cities of Midiya (today Iranian Azerbaijan) and included in the commercial and artisan urban population of their countries of residents.⁶ Soon after the Persian King Kir allowed them to return to Palestine. According to the data of A.I. Tymenuv, 43,360 people with 7,000 slaves of other nationalities returned there.⁷ As for the third expulsion of the ancient Jews from Palestine--during the era of Roman dominion (second century B.C.), --it sent them into the countries of the Mediterranean and, consequently, has nothing to do with the question which is being examined.

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Could people who had come from Palestine enter into the Tat language tribes of the northern borders of the ancient Persian empire? The Tats lived for a long time in isolation in remote rural areas on the northern border of the ancient Persian state and were engaged exclusively in agriculture. But right up until the 20th century the Jews in Persia did not have the right to change their places of permanent residence. Consequently, close contacts between the Jews, on the one hand, and the Tats, on the other, and, especially, ethnic mixing, were impossible. To a certain extent this is also confirmed by the anthropological data. At the beginning of this century K.M. Kudrov classified the Tat Moglems and the Tat Judaic tribes in the same anthropological group--Central Asian.⁸

The Tats were by no means the only non-Jewish people which has been subjected to Judaization. It is sufficient to recall Yemen of the sixth and seventh centuries and the Khazar Kingdom on the Lower Volga and the Northern Caucasus where Judaism was adopted in the ninth century, and today the Karaimi, certain Berber tribes in the south of Morocco, individual groups of Indian, Chinese, and Negro origin, and so forth. All of these ethnic formations, of course, have nothing in common either with Palestine or with the Zionist "world Jewish nation." It should be emphasized that until relatively recently the Tats of all religions preserved their pagan beliefs and rituals which are widely disseminated also among the other peoples of the Caucasus. All of them believed in the trans-migration of souls into various animals and in the existence of clean and unclean spirits.⁹ Until the relatively recent past a very archaic burial rite was preserved among the Judaic Tats which was clearly in contradiction with any monotheistic religion. Even the prayer houses, the so-called numazi, of the Judaic Tats differed sharply from European synagogues, and, as N. Chernyy, has noted, were "built in the Tatar taste."¹⁰ I. Anisimov has written that polygamy is widespread among all Tats and that they know incest and other customs which do not exist among the Jews.¹¹ It is characteristic that the European Jews who settled in Dagestan after its unification with Russia were compelled, for example, in the city of Derbent, to build a prayer house for themselves, although a prayer house already existed there in which the Judaic Tats prayed--so different were these buildings themselves (a synagogue is a tall building with large windows, a numaz is a low long building with a flat roof) and the rituals and customs of these two essentially different peoples.

As we see, the story that some of the Tats have their origin in the "promised land" is scientifically groundless. And it could not be otherwise, for to deduce the concept of nation or people not from its socio-economic content and not from its real interests, but from spiritual characteristics, that is, in this case the traditional religious self-consciousness of a part of the Tats, "means," G. Ye. Glezerman has noted, "to finally abandon the solid ground of science which studies real social processes."¹²

In this light the conception of M.M. Ikhilov, an associate at the Institute of History, Language, and Literature of the Dagestan branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences looks quite strange. Using the religious characteristic as a criterion for determining nationality, and uncritically repeating views which are widespread in the obsolete literature, he without any foundation at all divides "by origin" the single Tat people into two peoples--the Tats themselves and the Mountain Jews.¹³

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If one were to adopt M.M. Ikhilov's point of view and be consistent, then in the past the Tats would have to be divided into three peoples: the Tat Moslems, the Armenian-Gregorian Tats, and the Judaic Tats. The groundlessness of such a conception is obvious. There are numerous generally known examples of different nations and peoples professing the same religion and, on the contrary, there are nations and peoples which profess various religions. The Soviet investigator P.I. Puchkov who works on the problem of the relationship between religious and ethnic communities has pointed to the impermissibility of confusing these concepts and substituting a religious for an ethnic community.¹⁴

A resolution of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel emphasizes that Marxists have always rejected as reactionary and as having nothing in common with reality the Zionist theory of the existence of an "world Jewist nation." Incidentally, this conception is opposed not only by Marxists, but also by certain well-known bourgeois scholars. Thus, Juan Komar, a professor at the National University of Mexico, subdivides the peoples which profess Judaism and which live in various countries into three groups: the descendants of immigrants from Palestine; the "product" of the mixing of Jews with other ethnic groups; and believers in Judaism who have nothing in common ethnically with the Jews of Palestine.¹⁵

As for the origin of the Judaic Tats, according to the data of most historical sources, they come from Tats who at one time in the past adopted the Jewist religion which had apparently come from the north--from the Khazars. This point of view is reflected in the third edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia where all of the groups of the population of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Dagestan ASSR which speak the Tat language, regardless of their religious membership, are classified among the Tat people.¹⁶

The mixing up of ethnic and religious membership which is characteristic of Zionist propaganda is harmful both practically and theoretically. "The CPSU has fought and always will resolutely fight," L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th Party Congress, "against such things as chauvinism and nationalism which are alien to the nature of socialism and against all nationalist excesses, be they, for example, anti-Semitism or Zionism."¹⁷ Strict compliance with Lenin's theoretical propositions on the nationality question is a true guarantee against these excesses and the basis for strengthening the international friendship of the peoples of our country in the name of the triumph of Communism.

FOOTNOTES

1. E.A. Grantovskiy, "The Early History of Iranian Tribes in Anterior Asia," Moscow, Nauka 1970, p 355.
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3. R.M. Magomedov, "The History of Dagestan. From Ancient Times to the Beginning of the 19th Century, Makhachkala, 1968, p 80.

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4. "Leninism and the Nationalities Question Under Present-Day Conditions," Moscow, Politizdat, 1974, p 44.
5. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Volume 8, p 74.
6. A.I. Tyumenev, "The Jews in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," Petrograd, 1922, pp 60, 179.
7. Ibid, p 72.
8. K.M. Kudrov, "The Tats of Dagestan," RUSSKIY ANTROPOLOGICHESKIY ZHURNAL, Nos. 3-4, 1907, p 65.
9. I. Sh. Anisimov, "The Caucasian Mountain Jews," Moscow, 1988, pp 39-40.
10. I. Chernyy, "The Mountain Jews. A Collection of Information on Caucasian Mountaineers," Tiflis, Issue 3, 1970, p 41.
11. I. Sh. Anisimov, op. cit., p 5.
12. G.Ye. Glezerman, "Classes and Nations," Moscow, Politizdat, 1977, p 20.
13. "Peoples of the Caucasus. Ethnographic Essays," Volume 1, Moscow, 1960, p 554.
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15. "Zionism: Theory and Practice," Moscow, 1970, pp 153-154.
16. "The Great Soviet Encyclopedia," Third Edition, Volume 25, p 299.
17. "Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress," Moscow, Politizdat, 1981, p 157.

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35
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